HIS MAJESTIES ANSWER

To

The Nineteen Propoſitions of both Houſes of PARLIAMENT.

Printed by his Majeſties ſpeciall command

At *CAMBRIDGE*,

By ROGER DANIEL Printer to the famous Univerſitie. 1642.

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MAJESTIES

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REV. JOHN S. PENMAN
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March 2, 1937

His MAJESTIES Answer To the nineteen Propositions of both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

BEfore We shall give you Our Answer to your Petition and Propositions, We shall tell you, that We are now clearly satisfied, why the Method, which We traced out to you by Our Message of the 20 of Januarie, and have since so often pressed upon you, as the proper way to compose the distractions of this Kingdome, and render it truly happy, hath been hitherto declined, and is at length thought fit to be looked upon: We now see plainly, (and desire that you, and all other Our good Subjects should do so too) that the Cabalists of this businesse have with great Prudence reserved themselves, untill due preparations should be made for their Designe.

If they had unseasonably vented such Propositions, as the Wisdome and Modestie of your Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regall authority (which God hath entrusted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without just indignation (and such many of your present Propositions are) their hopes would soon have been blasted, and those Persons, to whom Offices, Honours, Power and Commands were designed, by such ill timing of their businesse, would have failed of their expectation, not without a Brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any of this nature should appear, they have (certainly with great wisdome in the Conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troublesome Rub in their way, *The Law*; To this end, (that they might undermine the very foundations of it) a new Power hath been assumed to interpret & declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Case judicially before either House (which is in effect the same thing as to make Laws without Us) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houses (tending to a pure arbitrary power) were pressed upon the people as Laws, and their obedience required to them.

Their next ſtep was, To erect an upſtart Authority without Us (in whom, and onely in whom the Laws of this Realm have placed that Power) To command the *Militia* (very conſiderable to this their Deſigne) In further order to it they have wreſted from Us Our Magazine & Town of *Hull*, and beſtrid Sir *John Hotham* in his bold-faced Treaſon; They have prepared and directed to the People unpreſidented Invectives againſt Our Government, thereby (as much as lay in their power) to weaken Our juſt Authority and due eſteem among them; They have as injuriouſly as preſumptuouſly (though We conceive by this time Impudence it ſelf is aſhamed of it) attempted to caſt upon Us aſperſions of an unheard of nature, as if We had *favoured a Rebellion in Our own bowels*; They have likewiſe broached new Doctrine, *That we are obliged to paſſe all Laws that ſhall be offered to Us by both Houſes* (howſoever Our own Judgement and Conſcience ſhall be unſatisfied with them) a Point of Policie, as proper for their preſent buſineſſe, as deſtructive to all Our Rights of Parliament; And ſo with ſtrange ſhameleſneſſe will forget a Clauſe in a Law ſtill in force, made in the ſecond yeare of King *H.* 5. wherein both Houſes of Parliament do acknowledge, *That it is of the Kings Regality to grant or deny ſuch of their Petitions as pleaſeth Himſelf*; They have interpreted Our neceſſary Guard, legally aſſembled for the defence of Us and Our Childrens Perſons againſt a Traitour in open Rebellion againſt Us, to be *with intent to levie Warre againſt Our Parliament*, (the thought whereof Our very ſoul abhorreth) thereby to render Us odious to Our people.

They have ſo awed Our good Subjects with Purſivants, long chargeable Attendance, heavie Cenſures, and illegall Impriſonments, that few of them durſt offer to preſent their tenderneſſe of Our ſufferings, their own juſt Grievances, and their ſenſe of thoſe violations of the Law, (the Birthright of every Subject of this Kingdome) though in an humble Petition directed to both Houſes; and if any did, it was ſtifled in the Birth, called *Sedition*, and burnt by the common Hangman.

They have reſtrained the Attendance of Our ordinary and neceſſary Houſ-hold-ſervants, and ſeized upon thoſe ſmall ſummes of Money which Our Credit had provided to buy Us Bread, with Injunctions, That none ſhall be ſuffered to be conveyed or returned to Us to *York*, or any of Our Peers or Servants with Us, ſo that (in effect) they have blocked Us up in that County.

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They have filled the ears of the People with the noiſe of Fears, and Jealouſies, (though taken up upon truſt) tales of Skippers, Salt-Fleets, and ſuch like, by which Alarms they might prepare them to receive ſuch impreſſions, as might beſt advance this Deſigne when it ſhould be ripe. And now it ſeems they think We are ſufficiently prepared for theſe bitter Pills, We are in a handſome Poſture to receive theſe *humble Deſires*, which probably are intended to make way for a Superfetation of a (yet) higher nature, (if We had not made this diſcovery to you) for they do not tell us this is all. In them We muſt obſerve that theſe Contrivers (the better to advance their true ends) diſguiſed as much as they could their intents with a mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man; Others, ſpecious, and popular; And ſome which are already granted by Us; All which are cunningly twiſted and mixed with thoſe other things of their main Deſigne of Ambition and private intereſt; in hope, that at the firſt view, every eye may not ſo clearly diſcern them in their proper colours.

We would not be underſtood, That We intend to fix this Deſigne upon both, or either Houſe of Parliament; We utterly profeſſe againſt it, being moſt confident of the Loyalty, good affections and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houſes were abſent, and many diſſented from all thoſe particulars We complain of. But We do believe, and accordingly profeſſe to all the world, that the Malignity of this Deſigne (as dangerous to the Laws of this Kingdome, the peace of the ſame, and the Liberties of all Our good Subjects, as to Our ſelf, and Our juſt Prerogative) hath proceeded from the ſubtill Informations, miſchieyous Practices, and evil Counſels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, diſaffected to Gods true Religion, and the Unity of the Profeſſours thereof, Our Honour and Safetie, and the publick Peace and proſperity of Our people, not without a ſtrong influence upon the very actions of both Houſes, But how faulty ſoever others are; We ſhall (with Gods aſſiſtance) endeavour to diſcharge Our duty with uprightneſſe of heart: And therefore ſince theſe Propoſitions come to Us in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, We ſhall take a more particular notice of every of them.

If the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 9. 10. 15. 16. 19. Demands had bin writ and printed in a tongue unknown to Vs and Our people, it might have been poſſible We and they might have charitably believed the Propoſitions

sitions to be such as might have been in Order to the ends pretended in the Petition (to wit) *the establishing of Our Honour and safety, the welfare and security of Our Subjects and Dominions, and the removing those Jealousies and Differences, which are said to have unhappily fallen betwixt Vs and Our people, and procuring both Vs and them a constant course of Honour, Peace and happinesse.* But being read and understood by all, We cannot but assure Our Self that this Profession, joyned to these Propositions, will rather appear a Mockery and a Scorn; The Demands being such, as We were unworthy of the trust reposed in Vs by the Law, and of Our descent from many so great and famous Ancestours, if We could be brought to abandon that power which onely can enable Vs to perform what We are sworn to, in protecting Our people and the Laws, and so assume others into it, as to devest Our self of it: Although not onely Our present Condition (which it can hardly be) were more necessitous then it is, and We were both Vanquisht, and a Prisoner, and in a worse condition then ever the most unfortunate of Our Predecessours have been reduced to, by the most criminall of their Subjects; And though the Bait laid to draw Vs to it, and to Keep Our Subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promises *of a plentifull and unparalleld Revenue*, were reduced from generals (which signifie nothing) to clear and certain particulars, since such a Bargain would have but too great a resemblance of that of *Esau*, if We should part with such Flowers of Our Crown, as are worth all the rest of the Garland, and have been transmitted to Vs from so many Ancestours, and have been found so usefull and necessary for the welfare and Security of Our Subjects, for any present necessity, or for any low and sordid Considerations of wealth and gain. And therefore all men knowing that those Accommodations are most easily made, and most exactly observed, that are grounded upon reasonable and equall Conditions, We have great Cause to believe, that the Contrivers of these had no intention of settling any firm Accommodation, but to increase those Jealousies, and widen that division, which (not by Our fault) is now unhappily fallen between Vs and both Houses.

It is asked, *That all the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell, and such* (We know not what you mean by *such*, but We have cause to think you mean *all great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the Seas*) For care is taken to leave out no Person or place, that Our dishonour may be sure not to be bounded within

within this Kingdome, though no subtill Insinuations at such a distance can probably be believed to have been the cause of Our distractions and dangers) *should be put from Our Privy Councell, and from those Offices and imployments, unlesse they be approved by both Houses of Parliament*, how faithfull soever We have found them to Vs and the Publick, and how far soever they have been from offending against any law, the onely rule they had or any others ought to have to walk by. We therefore to this part of this Demand return you this Answer, That We are willing to grant that they shall take a larger Oath then you your selves desire in your 11th Demand, for maintaining not of any part, but of the whole Law; And we have and do assure you, That We will be carefull to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrities, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception, whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence; That if We have or shall be mistaken in Our election, We have and do assure you, that there is no man so near to Vs in place or affection, whom we will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; And that We have given you (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on Our part, and the best security for the performance of their dutie on theirs) *a Triennial Parliament*, the apprehension of whose Justice will in all probabilitie make them warie how they provoke it, and Vs warie how We chuse such, as by the discoverie of their faults may in any degree seem to discredit Our election. But that without any shadow of a fault objected, onely perhaps because they follow their conscience, and preserve the established Laws, and agree not in such Votes, or assent not to such Bils, as some persons, who have now too great an Influence even upon both Houses, judge or seem to judge to be for the publick good, and as are agreeable to that new *Utopia* of Religion and Government into which they endeavour to transform this Kingdome; (for we remember what names, and for what Reasons, you left out in the Bill offered Vs concerning the *Militia*, which you had your selves recommended in the Ordinance) We will never consent to the displacing of any, whom for their former merits from and affection to Vs and the publick, We have intrusted, since We conceive, That to do so, would take away both from the affection of Our servants, the care of Our service, and the Honour of Our Justice. And we the more wonder that it should be asked by you of Vs, since it appears by the 12th Demand, That your

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ſelves count it reaſonable, after the preſent turn is ſerved, *that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hold their places, quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* And We are reſolved to be as carefull of thoſe We have choſen, as you are of thoſe you would chuſe, and to remove none, till they appear to Vs to have otherwiſe behaved themſelves, or ſhall be evicted by legall proceedings to have done ſo.

But this Demand (as unreaſonable as it is,) is but one link of a great Chain, and but the firſt round of that Ladder, by which Our Juſt, Ancient, Regall Power is endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground. For it appears plainly, that it is not with the perſons now choſen, but with Our chooſing that you are diſpleaſed; For you demand, *That the perſons put into the places and imployments of thoſe who ſhall be removed, may be approved by both Houſes*; which is ſo far (as to ſome it may at firſt ſight appear) from being leſſe then the power of nomination, that of two things (of which We will never grant either) VVe would ſooner be content that you ſhould nominate and We approve, then you approve and We nominate; The mere nomination being ſo far from being any thing, that if We could do no more, We would never take the pains to do that, when We ſhould onely hazard thoſe, whom We eſteemed, to the ſcorn of a refuſall, if they hapned not to be agreeable not onely to the Judgement, but to the paſſion, intereſt or humour of the preſent major part of either Houſe. Not to ſpeak now of the great factions, animoſities, and diviſions which this power would introduce in both Houſes, between both Houſes, and in the ſeverall Countries, for the choice of perſons to be ſent to that place where that power was, and between the perſons that were ſo choſen. Neither is this ſtrange Potion preſcribed to us onely for once, for the cure of a preſent, preſſing, deſperate diſeaſe, but for a dyet to Vs and Our Poſterity. It is demanded, *That Our Councellours, all Chief Officers both of Law and Sate, Commanders of Forts and Caſtles, and all Peers hereafter made* (as to voting, without which how little is the reſt?) *be approved of* (that is, choſen) *by them from time to time*; and rather then it ſhould ever be left to the Crown (to whom it onely doth and ſhall belong) *if any place fall void in the intermiſſion of Parliament, the major part of the approved Councell is to approve them.* Neither is it onely demanded, that VVe ſhould quit the Power and Right Our Predeceſſours have had of appointing Perſons in theſe places, but for Councellors VVe are to be reſtrained, as well in the number, as in the perſons, and a power muſt be annext to theſe

theſe places, which their Predeceſſours had not; And indeed if this power were paſt to them, it were not fit VVe ſhould be truſted to chooſe thoſe, who were to be truſted as much as VVe.

It is demanded, *That ſuch matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament* (which is Our great and Supream Councell) *may be debated, reſolved and tranſacted onely in Parliament, and not elſewhere, and ſuch as preſume to do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the Cenſure and Judgement of the Parliament, and ſuch other matters of State, as are proper for Our Privy Councell, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of Our Nobility* (though indeed, if being made by Vs they may not Vote without the Conſent of both Houſes, VVe are rather to call them *your Nobility*) *and others, as ſhall be from time to time choſen for that place, by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament and that no publick Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdome, which are proper for Our Privie Councell, may be eſteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royall Authority, unleſſe it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the major part of Our Councell, atteſted under their hands:* VVhich Demands are of that Nature, that to grant them were in effect at once to depoſe both Our Self and Our Poſteritie.

Theſe being paſt, VVe may be waited on bare-headed; VVe may have Our hand kiſt; The Style of Majeſtie continued to Vs; And the Kings Authority, declared by both Houſes of Parliament, may be ſtill the Style of your Commands; VVe may have Swords and Maces carried before Vs, and pleaſe Our Self with the ſight of a Crown and Scepter, (and yet even theſe Twigs would not long flouriſh, when the Stock upon which they grew were dead) but as to true and reall Power VVe ſhould remain but the outſide, but the Picture, but the ſigne of a King. VVe were ever willing that Our Parliament ſhould debate, reſolve, and tranſact ſuch matters as are proper for them, as far as they are proper for them: And VVe heartily wiſh, that they would be as carefull not to extend their Debates and Reſolutions beyond what is proper to them, that multitudes of things puniſhable, and cauſes determinable by the Ordinary Judicatures, may not be entertained in Parliament, and ſo cauſe a long, chargeable, fruitleſſe attendance of Our People, and (by Degrees) draw to you as well all the cauſes, as all the faults of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and divert your proper buſineſſe; That the courſe of Law be no wayes diverted, much leſſe diſturbed, as was actually done by the ſtop of the Proceedings a-

gainſt a Riot in *Southwark*, by Order of the Houſe of Commons, in a time ſo riotous and tumultuous, as much increaſed the danger of Popular inſolencies, by ſuch a countenance to Riots, and diſcountenance of Law; That you deſcend not to the leaſure of recommending Lecturers to Churches, nor aſcend to the Legiſlative power, by commanding (the Law not having yet commanded it) that they whom you recommend, be received, although neither the Parſon nor Biſhop do approve of them; And that the Refuſers (according to the courſe ſo much formerly complained of to have been uſed at the Councell Table) be not ſent for to attend to ſhew cauſe; At leaſt, that you would conſider conveniencie, if not Law, and recommend none, but who are well known to you to be Orthodox, Learned, and Moderate, or at leaſt ſuch as have taken Orders, and are not notorious deprayers of the Book of Common Prayer; A care which appeareth by the Diſcourſes, Sermons, and Perſons of ſome recommended by you, not to have been hitherto taken, and it highly concerns both you in duty, and the Commonwealth in the conſequences, that it ſhould have been taken; That neither one eſtate tranſact what is proper for two, nor two what is proper for three, and conſequently, that (contrary to Our declared will) Our Forts may not be ſeized; Our Arms may not be removed; Our Moneys may not be ſtopt; Our legall Directions may not be countermanded by you, nor We deſired to countermand them Our Self, nor ſuch entrances made upon a reall Warre againſt Vs, upon pretence of an imaginary Warre againſt you, and a *Chimera* of neceſſity. So far do you paſſe beyond your limits, whileſt you ſeem by your Demand to be ſtrangely ſtraitned within them. At leaſt VVe could have wiſht you would have expreſſed what matters you meant as *fit to be tranſacted onely in Parliament*, and what you meant by *onely in Parliament*. You have (of late) been perſwaded by the new doctrines of ſome few, to think that proper for your debates, which hath not uſed to be at all debated within thoſe VVals, but been truſted wholly with Our Predeceſſours and Vs, and to tranſact thoſe things which without the Regall Authority, ſince there were Kings of this Kingdome, were never tranſacted; It therefore concerns Vs the more that you ſpeak out, and that both VVe and Our People may either know the bottom of your Demands, or know them to be bottomleſſe. VVhat concerns more the Publick, and is more (indeed) proper for the high Court of Parliament, then the making of Laws? which not onely ought there to be tranſacted, but can be tranſacted

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no where else; but then you must admit Us to be a part of the Parliament, you must not (as the sense is of this part of this Demand, if it have any) deny the freedome of Our Answer, when We have as much right to reject what We think unreasonable, as you have to propose what you think convenient or necessary; nor is it possible Our Answers either to Bils, or any other Propositions should be wholly free; if We may not use the Liberty of every one of you, and of every Subject, and receive advice (without their danger who shall give it) from any person known or unknown, sworn and unsworn, in these matters in which the Manage of our Vote is trusted by the Law to Our own Judgement and Conscience, which how best to inform, is (and ever shall be) left likewise to Us; and most unreasonable it were that two Estates proposing something to the Third, that Third should be bound to take no advice, whether it were fit to passe, but from those two that did propose it. We shall ever in these things which are trusted wholly to Us by the Law, not decline to hearken to the Advice of Our great Councell, and shall use to hear willingly the free debates of Our Privie Councell (whensoever We may be suffered to have them for sending for) and they shall not be terrified from that freedome by Votes (and brands of Malignancy and Enemies to the State, for advising what no Law forbids to advise) but We will retain Our Power of admitting no more to any Councell then the Nature of the Businesse requires, and of discoursing with whom We please, of what We please, and informing Our Understanding by debate with any Persons, who may be well able to Inform and Advise Us in some particular, though their Qualities, Education, or other Abilities may not make them so fit to be of Our sworn Councell, and not tye Our Self up not to hear any more then twenty five (and those not chosen absolutely by Us) out of a Kingdome so replenished with Judicious and Experienced Persons in severall kinds. And though We shall (with the proportionable Consideration due to them) alwayes weigh the Advices both of Our Great and Privie Councell, yet We shall also look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impositions; upon them as Our Councellours, not as Our Tutours and Guardians, and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupill, or Ward; for whatsoever of Regality were by the Modestie of Interpretation left in Us in the first part of the second Demand, as to the Parliament, is taken from Us in the second part of the same, and placed in this new-fangled kind of Councellours, whose power is such and so expressed by it, that in all

Publick Acts concerning the Affairs of this Kingdome, which are proper for Our Privie Councell (for whose Advice all publick Acts are sometimes proper, though never necessary) they are desired to be admitted joynt Patentees with Us in the Regality, and it is not plainly expressed whether they mean Us so much as a single Vote in these Affairs: But it is plain they mean Us no more at most then a single Vote in them, and no more power then every one of the rest of Our Fellow-Councellours; onely leave to Us, out of their respect and dutie, (and that onely is left of all Our ancient Power) a Choice, whether these that are thus to be joyned with (or rather set over) Us, shall be fifteen, or twenty five; and great care is taken that the Oath which these Men shall take, shall be such, in the framing the form of which (though sure We are not wholly unconcerned in it) We may be wholly excluded, and that wholly reserved to be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

And to shew that no more Care is taken of Our Safety, then of Our Power, after so great indignities offered to Us, and countenanced by those who were most obliged to resent them: After Our Town and Fort kept from Us (from which, if it were no otherwise Ours then the whole Kingdome is, We can no more legally be kept out then out of Our whole Kingdome, which sure your selves will not deny to be Treason) Our Arms, Our Goods sent away, and Our Money stopt from Us, Our Guards (in which We have no other Intention then to hinder the end of these things from being proportionable to their beginnings) are not onely desired to be dismissed before satisfaction for the injurie, punishments of the injurers, and care taken for Our future Security from the like: But it is likewise desired, (and for this Law is pretended, and might as well have been for the rest, which yet with some ingenuity are it seems acknowledged to be but Desires of Grace) that We shall not for the future raise any Guards or extraordinary Forces, but in case of actuall Rebellion or Invasion, which if it had been Law, and so observed in the time of Our Famous Predecessours, few of those Victories which have made this Nation famous in other parts, could have been legally atchieved, nor could Our blessed Predecessour Queen *Elizabeth* have so defended Her self in 88. And if no Forces must be levied till Rebellions and Invasions (which will not stay for the calling of Parliaments, and their consent for raising Forces) be actuall, they must undoubtedly (at least most probably) be effectuall and prevalent.

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And as neither care is taken for Our Rights, Honour, nor Safety as a Prince, ſo Our Rights as a private Perſon are endeavoured to be had from Us, it being asked, that it may be unlawfull and puniſhable, not onely to *conclude*, but even to *treat of any Marriage with any Perſon for Our own Children, or to place Governours about them, without conſent of Parliament, and in the intermiſſion of thoſe, without the conſent of Our good Lords of the Councell*, that We may not onely be in a more deſpicable ſtate then any of Our Predeceſſours, but in a meaner and viler condition then the loweſt of Our Subjects, who value no liberty they have more, then that of the free Education and Marriage of their children, from which We are asked to debar Our Self, and have the more reaſon to take it ill that We are ſo, becauſe for Our choice of a Governour for Our Son, and of a Husband for Our Daughter, (in which the Proteſtant Religion was Our principall Conſideration) We conceived We had reaſon to expect your preſent thanks, and the increaſe of your future truſts.

We ſuppoſe theſe Demands by this time to appear ſuch as the Demanders cannot be ſuppoſed to have any ſuch reall fear of Us as hath been long pretended, they are too much in the ſtyle, not onely of equals, but of Conquerours, and as little to be intended for removing of Jealouſies, for which end they are ſaid to be asked, and that is not, as Merchants ask at firſt much more then they will take, but as moſt neceſſary to effect it, which (if they be) God help this poore Kingdome, and thoſe who are in the hands of ſuch Perſons, (whoſe Jealouſies nothing elſe will remove) which indeed is ſuch a way, as if there being differences and ſuits between two perſons, whereof one would have from the other ſeverall pareells of his ancient Land, he ſhould propoſe to him by way of Accommodation, that he would quit to him all thoſe in queſtion, with the reſt of his Eſtate, as the moſt neceſſary and effectuall means to remove all thoſe ſuits and differences. But We call God to witneſſe, that as for Our Subjects ſake theſe Rights are veſted in Us, ſo for their ſakes, as well as for Our own, We are reſolved not to quit them, nor to ſubvert (though in a Parliamentary way) the ancient, equall, happy, well-poiſed and never-enough commended Conſtitution of the Government of this Kingdome, nor to make Our Self of a King of *England* a Duke of *Venice*, and this of a Kingdome a Republick.

There being three kinds of Government amongſt men, Abſolute Monarchy, Ariſtocracy and Democracy, and, all theſe having their

particular conveniencies and inconveniencies. The experience and wisdome of your Ancestours hath so moulded this out of a mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdome (as farre as humane Prudence can provide) the conveniencies of all three, without the inconveniencies of any one, as long as the Balance hangs even between the three Estates, and they runne joyntly on in their proper Channell (begetting Verdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of either on either side raise not Deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, The ill of Aristocracy is Faction and Division, The ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnesse. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head, to resist Invasion from abroad, and insurrection at home. The good of Aristocracy is the Conjunction of Counsell in the ablest Persons of a State for the Publick benefit: The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Libertie begets.

In this Kingdome the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular priviledges: The Government according to these Laws is trusted to the King. Power of Treaties of Warre and Peace, of making Peers, of chusing Officers and Counsellours for State, Judges, for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men to make Warre abroad, or to prevent or provide against Invasions or Insurrections at home, benefit of Confiscations, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kind are placed in the King. And this kind of regulated Monarchy having this power to preserve that Authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the Laws in their Force, and the Subjects in their Liberties and Proprieties, is intended to draw to him such a Respect and Relation from the great Ones, as may hinder the ills of Division and Faction, and such a Fear and Reverence from the People, as may hinder Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnesse. Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetuall Power to the hurt of those for whose good He hath it, and make use of the name of Publick Necessity for the gain of his private Favourites and Followers to the detriment of His People, the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or the chusing of them that should Govern) is solely intrusted with the first Propositions concerning the Levies of Moneys (which is the sinews as well of Peace as War) and the impeaching of those, who for

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their own ends, though countenanced by any Surreptitiously gotten command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound when he knows it to protect, & to the protection of which they were bound to advise Him, at least not to serve Him in the contrary. And the Lords being trusted with a Judicatorie power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and people, to assist each against any Incroachments of the other, and by just judgements to preserve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three. For the better enabling them in this, beyond the examples of any of Our Ancestours, We were willingly contented to oblige Our Self, both to call a Parliament every three years, and not to dissolve it in fifty dayes, and for the present Exigent, the better to raise Money, and avoid the pressure (no lesse grievous to Us then them) Our People must have suffered by a longer continuance of so vast a Charge as two great Armies, and for their greater certainty of having sufficient time to remedie the inconveniences arisen during so long an absence of Parliaments, and for the punishment of the Causers and Ministers of them, We yielded up Our Right of dissolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinary moderation from it in gratitude for so unexampled a Grace, and little looking that any *Malignant Party* should have been encouraged or enabled to have perswaded them, first to countenance the Injustices and Indignities We have endured, and then by a new way of Satisfaction for what was taken from Us, to demand of Us at once to confirm what was so taken, and to give up almost all the rest.

Since therefore the Power Legally placed in both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny, and without the power which is now asked from Us We shall not be able to discharge that Trust, which is the end of Monarchy, since this would be a totall Subversion of the Fundamentall Laws, and that excellent Constitution of this Kingdome, which hath made this Nation so many years both famous and happy to a great degree of Envie; since to the power of Punishing (which is already in our hands according to Law) if the power of Preferring be added, We shall have nothing left for Us, but to look on; since the incroaching of one of these Estates upon the power of the other is unhappy in effects both to them and all the rest; since this power of at most a joynt Government in Us with Our Councellours, (or rather Our Guardians) will return Us to the worst kind of Minority, and make Us despicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternall Factions and Dissensions (as destructive

ſtructive to publick Happines as War) both in the choſen, & the Houſes that chuſe them, & the people who chuſe the Chuſers; ſince ſo new a power will undoubtedly intoxicate perſons who were not born to it, and beget not onely Diviſions among them as equals, but in them contempt of Us as become an equall to them, and Inſolence and Injuſtice towards Our people, as now ſo much their Inferiours, which will be the more grievous unto them, as ſuffering from thoſe who were ſo lately of a nearer degree to themſelves, and being to have redreſſe onely from thoſe that placed them, and fearing they may be inclined to preſerve what they have made, both out of kindneſſe, and policie; ſince all great changes are extreamly inconvenient, and almoſt infallibly beget yet greater Changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniencies.

Since as great an one in the Church muſt follow this of the Kingdome; Since the ſecond Eſtate would in all probability follow the Fate of the firſt, and by ſome of the ſame turbulent ſpirits Jealouſies would be ſoon raiſed againſt them, and the like Propoſitions for reconciliation of Differences would be then ſent to them, as they now have joyned to ſend to Us, till (all Power being veſted in the Houſe of Commons, and their number making them incapable of tranſacting Affairs of State with the neceſſary Secrecie and Expedition; thoſe being retruſted to ſome cloſe Committee) at laſt the Common people (who in the mean time muſt be flattered, and to whom Licence muſt be given in all their wilde humours, how contrary ſoever to eſtabliſhed Law, or their own reall Good) diſcover this *Arcanum Imperii*, That all this was done by them, but not for them, grow weary of Journey-work, and ſet up for themſelves, call Parity and Independence, Libertie; Devoure that Eſtate which had devoured the reſt; Deſtroy all Rights and Proprieties, all diſtinctions of Families and Merit; And by this means this ſplendid and excellently diſtinguiſhed Form of Government end in a dark equall *Chaos* of Confuſion; and the long Line of Our many noble Anceſtours in a *Jack Cade* or a *Wat Tiler*.

For all theſe Reaſons to all theſe Demands, Our Anſwer is, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*: But this We promiſe, that We will be as carefull of preſerving the Laws in what is ſuppoſed to concern wholly Our Subjects, as in what moſt concerns Our Self: For indeed We profeſſe to believe, That the preſervation of every Law concerns Us, thoſe of obedience being not ſecure, when thoſe of protection are violated; And We being moſt of any injured in the leaſt violation of that,

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by which We enjoy the higheſt Rights and greateſt Benefits, and are therefore obliged to defend no leſſe by Our intereſt then by Our duty, and hope that no Jealouſies to the contrary ſhall be any longer nouriſhed in any of Our good People, by the ſubtill inſinuations, and ſecret practices of men, who for private ends are diſaffected to Our Honour and Safety, and the Peace and Proſperity of Our People. And to ſhew you, that no juſt indignation at ſo reproachfull offers ſhall make Us refuſe to grant what is probable to conduce to the good of Our good People, becauſe of the ill company it comes in, We will ſearch carefully in this heap of unreaſonable Demands, for ſo much as We may (complying with Our Conſcience, and the duty of Our Truſt) aſſent unto, and ſhall accordingly agree to it.

In purſuance of which Search, in the 4th Propoſition, under a Demand which would take from Us that truſt which God, Nature, and the Laws of the Land have placed in Us, and of which none of you could endure to be deprived, We find ſomething to which We give this Anſwer, That We have committed the principall places about Our Children to perſons of Quality, Integrity and Pietie, with ſpeciall regard that their tender years might be ſo ſeaſoned with the Principles of the true Proteſtant Religion, as (by the bleſſing of God upon this Our care) this whole Kingdome may in due time reap the fruit thereof: And as We have been likewiſe very carefull in the choice of Servants about them, that none of them may be ſuch, as by ill Principles, or by iſl Examples to croſſe Our endeavours for their Pious and Vertuous Education, ſo if there ſhall be found (for all Our care to prevent it) any perſon about Our Children (or about Vs, which is more then you ask) *againſt whom both Houſes* ſhall make appear to Us *any juſt exception*, We ſhall not onely *remove* them, but thank you for the Information; Onely VVe ſhall expect, that you ſhall be likewiſe carefull that there be no under-hand dealing by any to ſeek faults to make room for others to ſucceed in their places.

For the 5th Demand, as VVe will not ſuffer any to ſhare with Us in Our power of Treaties, which are moſt improper for Parliaments, and leſt in thoſe Treaties in which VVe are nearlieſt concerned, not onely as a King, but as a Father, yet VVe do (ſuch is Our deſire to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction) aſſure you by the word of a King, that VVe ſhall never propoſe or entertain any Treaty whatſoever for the marriage of any of Our Children, without due regard to the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, the good of Our Kingdomes, and the Honour of Our Family.

For the 6th Demand, concerning *the Laws in force against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants*, VVe have by many of Our Messages to you, by Our voluntary promise to you, so solemnly made never to pardon any Popish Priest, by Our strict Proclamations lately published in this point, and by the publick Examples which VVe have made in that case since Our Residence at *York*, and before at *London*, sufficiently expressed Our zeal herein. VVhy do you then ask that in which Our own Inclination hath prevented you? And if you can yet find any more effectuall Course to disable them from Disturbing the State or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise, VVe shall willingly give Our Consent to it.

For the 7th, concerning *the Votes of Popish Lords*, VVe understand that they in discretion have withdrawn themselves from the service of the House of Peers, (and had done so when use was publickly made of their names to asperse the Votes of that House, which was then counted as Malignant as those (who are called *Our unknown and unsworn Councellours*) are now) neither do We conceive that such a positive Law against the Votes of any whose bloud gives them that right, is so proper in regard of the Priviledge of Parliament, but are content, that so long as they shall not be conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, they shall not be admitted to sit in the House of Peers, but onely to give their Proxies to such Protestant Lords as they shall chuse, who are to dispose of them as they themselves shall think fit, without any Reference at all to the Giver.

As to the desires for *a Bill for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Profession*, many about Us can witnesse with Us, That We have often delivered Our Opinion, that such a Course (with Gods blessing upon it) would be the most effectuall for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdome; We shall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and, when it comes unto Us, do Our Dutie; And we heartily wish, for the publick good, that the time you have spent in making Ordinances without Us, had been imployed in preparing this and other good Bills for Us.

For the 8th, touching *The Reformation to be made of the Church Government and Liturgie*; We had hoped, that what We had formerly declared concerning the same, had been so sufficiently understood by you and all good Subjects, that We should not need to have expressed Our Self further in it. We told you in Our Answers to

your

your Petition presented to Us at *Hampton-Court* the first of December, *That for any illegall Innovations which may have crept in, We should willingly concur in the removall of them; That if Our Parliament should advise Us to call a Nationall Synode, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of Offence to any, We should take it into Consideration, and apply Our Self to give due satisfaction therein; That We were perswaded in Our Conscience, that no Church could be found upon the Earth that professeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine, then the Church of England doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are joyntly more beautified, and free from Superstition, then as they are here established by Law*; which (by the grace of God) We will with Constancie maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not onely against all Invasions of Popery, but also from the Irreverence of those many Schismaticks and Separatists, wherewith of late this Kingdome and Our City of *London* abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State. For the suppression of whom We required your timely and active assistance. We told you in Our first declaration, printed by the advice of Our Privie Councell, *That for differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We should in tenderneſſe to any number of Our loving Subjects very willingly comply with the advice of Our Parliament, that some Law might be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for such Ceremonies, and in such cases, which by the judgement of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawfull; Provided, that this ease should be attempted and pursued with that modestie, temper and submission, that in the mean time the Peace and quiet of the Kingdome be not disturbed, the Decencie and comelineſſe of Gods Service discountenanced, nor the Pious, Sober, Devout actions of those reverend Persons, who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandaled and defamed.* And We heartily wish, that others whom it concerned, had been as ready (as their dutie bound them, though they had not received it from Us) to have pursued this caution, as We were and still are willing and readie to make good every particular of that Promise. Nor did We onely appear willing to joyn in so good a Work, when it should be brought Vs, but prest and urged you to it by Our Message of the 14th of February in these words, *And because His Majestie observes great and different troubles to arise in*

the hearts of His People, concerning the Government and Liturgie of the Church, His Majeſtie is willing to declare, That He will referre the whole conſideration to the wiſdome of His Parliament, which He deſires them to enter into ſpeedily, that the preſent diſtractions about the ſame may be compoſed: but deſires not to be preſſed to any ſingle Act on His part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſettled by both Houſes, that His Majeſtie may clearly ſee what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away: Of which We the more hoped of a good ſucceſſe to the generall ſatisfaction of Our People, becauſe you ſeem in this Propoſition to deſire but *a Reformation*, and not (as is dayly preached for, as neceſſary, in thoſe many Conventicles which have within theſe nineteen moneths begun to ſwarm, and which though their Leaders differ from you in this opinion, yet appear to many as countenanced by you, by not being puniſhed by you, few elſe, by reaſon of the Order of the Houſe of Commons of the 9th of September, daring to do it) a deſtruction of the preſent Diſcipline and Liturgie. And We ſhall moſt cheerfully *give Our beſt aſſiſtance for raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for preaching Miniſters*, in ſuch courſe as ſhall be moſt for the encouragement and advancement of Piety and Learning.

For the Bills you mention, and the Conſultation you intimate, knowing nothing of the particular matters of the one (though We like the Titles well) nor of the manner of the other, but from an Informer (to whom We give little credit; and We wiſh no man did more) Common fame, We can ſay nothing till We ſee them.

For the 11th We would not have the *Oath of all Privie Councellours & Judges* ſtraitned to particular Statutes of one or two particular Parliaments, but extend to all Statutes of all Parliaments, and the whole Law of the Land, and ſhall willingly conſent *that an enquirie of all the breaches & violations of the Law may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to Law.*

For the 17th We ſhall ever be moſt ready, (and VVe are ſorry it ſhould be thought needfull to move Us to it) not onely to joyn with any (particularly *with the States of the united Provinces*, of VVhich VVe have given a late proof in the Match of Our Daughter) *for the defence and maintenance of Proteſtant Religion, againſt all deſignes and attemps of the Pope and his adherents*, but ſingly (if need were)

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to oppoſe with Our life and fortune *all ſuch deſignes* in all other Nations, were they joyned: And that for Conſiderations of Conſcience, farre more then any temporall end *of obtaining acceſſe of ſtrength and reputation*, or any naturall end *of reſtoring Our Royall Siſter and her Princely Iſſue to their Dignities and Dominions*, though theſe be likewiſe much conſidered by Us.

For the 18th It was not Our fault, that an Act was not paſſed *to clear the Lord Kymbolton, & the five Members of the Houſe of Commons*, but yours, who inſerted ſuch Clauſes into both the Preamble and Act (perhaps perſwaded to it by ſome who wiſh not that you ſhould in any thing receive ſatisfaction from Us) as by paſſing the Preamble VVe muſt have wounded Our Honour againſt Our Conſcience, and by another Clauſe have admitted a Conſequence from which VVe could never have been ſecured by declaring, *That no Member of either Houſe, upon any Accuſation of Treaſon, could have his Perſon ſeized without the Conſent of that Houſe, of which he is a Member*, though the known Law be, *That Priviledge of Parliament extends not to Treaſon*, and if it did, any Member (the Houſe being for a ſhort time adjourned, and ſo their Conſent not being ſo had) how treaſonable ſoever his Intentions were, how clearly ſoever known, and how ſuddenly ſoever to be executed, muſt have fair leave given him to go on and purſue them, no way, how Legall ſoever, after the paſſing ſuch a Clauſe, being left to prevent it.

To conclude. We Conjure you and all men to reſt ſatisfied with the Truth of Our Profeſſions, and the Reality of Our Intentions; not to ask ſuch things as deny themſelves; That you Declare againſt Tumults, and puniſh the Authours. That you allow Us Our Propriety in Our Towns, Arms and Goods, and Our Share in the Legiſlative Power, which would be counted in Us not onely breach of Priviledge, but Tyranny and Subverſion of Parliaments to deny to you: And when you ſhall have given Us ſatisfaction upon thoſe Perſons who have taken away the One, and recalled thoſe Declarations (particularly that of the 26th of *May*) and thoſe in the point of the *Militia*, (Our iuſt Rights, wherein We will no more part with then with Our Crown, leſt we inable others by them to take that from Us) which would take away the other; and declined the beginnings of a VVarre againſt Us, under pretence of Our Intention of making one againſt you: as We have never oppoſed the firſt part of the 13th Demand, ſo VVe ſhall be ready to concur with you in the latter.

And being then confident that the Credit of thoſe Men, who deſire a generall Combuſtion, will be ſo weakened with you, that they will not be able to do this Kingdome any more harm, We ſhall be willing to grant our generall Pardon, with ſuch Exceptions as ſhall be thought fit, and ſhall receive much more ioy in the hope of a full and conſtant happineſſe of Our People in the true Religion, and under the Protection of the Law, by a bleſſed union between Us and Our Parliament (ſo much deſired by Us) then in any ſuch increaſe of Our Own revenue (how much ſoever beyond former Grants) as (when Our Subjects were wealthieſt) Our Parliament could have ſettled upon Us.

FINIS.